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death



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Apocalypse now

14 At least 55 members of a mysterious cult died when fire swept through country houses in Quebec and Switzerland, leaving behind allegations of murder and a trail of unanswered questions. Chief among them: who is Luc Joaze, the charismatic doctor who headed the cult and apparently led his followers to a cataclysmic death?

Taking the heat

10 Health Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy's long-awaited discussion paper on reforming Canada's social programs drew fire from several quarters. Critics on the left and he had no business tampering with the country's cherished social safety net, critics on the right said he had not been nearly bold enough



Incomparable Alice Munro

46 In her new book, writer Alice Munro takes her exploration of character, landscape, fate and time—and the interplay among them—to new levels. But while Canadian authors excel, the country's publishing industry lags behind



LETTERS

Local heroes

Despite his positive record in world diplomacy, former U.S. president Jimmy Carter was quoted as saying that Rustan Gen. Basal Cedras was to be admired ("First and foremost," *Cover*, Oct. 3). That such admiration should be shown is a laudable ideal. Another former president, George Bush, during the occupation at Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1983, stated "We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic process." Such accolades seem out of place for world leaders, but who is to throw the first stone?

Bert Sengstacke,
Barrie, Ont.



Grassroots attack in Port-au-Prince: magnificent admiration for Cedras

poor? Unlike the government, the pension funds are money moved from money earned. One only wishes that the governments of this land would have the same foresight as most citizens.

Albert C. Ross,
Toronto

'Out of touch'

In a week of plague in India, death at Rwanda and the potential loss of safety-net programs in Canada, Barbara Anselmi's column ("What makes some men good lovers?" *Celine*, Oct. 3) struck me as both vile and irrelevant. Anselmi is totally out of touch with the realities of life experienced day to day by most Canadian women. In the mining and fishing villages of Atlantic Canada, the abandoned manufacturing centres in Quebec and Ontario, the Prairie farming areas and the logging industry communities along the Pacific coast, women are not concerned with "what makes some men good lovers."

Norinda J. Stephens,
Elliot Lake, Ont.

Public opinion

May I suggest that Finance Minister Phil Martin could help meet his debt targets by eliminating the \$1.1 billion spent on the CBC and allow it to be funded, as is the American Public Broadcasting System, by individual sponsors and corporate donations ("Inside the CBC," *Cover*, Sept. 26). I, for one, would voluntarily contribute to *Rocky Road* in Canada, the Peter and Paul Show, *Frontiers*, *Witness* and other quality

programs, as I do with PBS. The opposite words are "voluntarily contribute."

Joey Stronach,
Prince George, B.C.

John Crispo's news on the CBC takes a light on a national tragedy (Crispo's case). What a waste, that a potentially useful institution like a national broadcasting service has been squandered by following ideologues who self-righteously their positions to "establish the national agenda."

Don Carr,
Burlington, Ont.

The articles on the CBC have confirmed my thoughts: the monkeys are running the zoo.

F. L. Bennett,
Sudbury, Ont.

T-shirt diplomacy

So the Alberta Young Liberals' colorful T-shirt slogan—"Individuals who give a [sex] player!" ("F---" *ST* Games, Opening Notes, Sept. 12). That's all right, because we found her recent statements against homosexuals completely unacceptable. Being from Alberta, where Ralph Klein's government is working to erode human rights, we have found that often you have to be controversial to be heard. We are glad we got your attention, Mr. Sklar.

James Robinson,
Active president, Alberta Young Liberals,
Edmonton

Monahan's editorialist's column that letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please notify editor of letters and indicate telephone number. (John Letters in the Editor Monahan's response, 227 Bay St., Toronto. Tel. 416-593-0416, 1996-1997)

LETTERS

Different viewpoint

Trying to differ with author Michael Walsh who says in "The power of the Pope" (*World*, Sept. 18) that "the history of the Roman Catholic Church is one of relentless accommodation with society so that it was never on the margins." The church has rarely accommodated society. For example, it took a noncommensurate attitude to Henry VIII's request for the dissolution of his marriage, and refused him a decree of nullity. As a result, the Church of England was born and the Catholic Church has remained on the margins of England to this day.

Joan Lundy,
Toronto

'Tipping the scales'

The *7th-City Child Care Guide*, which includes a "pediatric alert" ("Maternal vigilance," *Opening Notes*, Sept. 26), is providing Vancouver-area parents with a valuable service. You say the guide has drawn criticism for being a witchhunt. It is only tipping the scales in favor of children.

Susan Rogers,
Mississauga, Ont.

Uniting with God

As a yoga practitioner for 15 years and a teacher for 12, I was so impressed with your article on yoga ("Body and soul," *Backlog*, Sept. 26) that I am distributing it to my students. One point the article seems, correctly, the word yoga means union. The goal of yoga is a state called samadhi, in which the individual's soul and God are united. Having experienced this transcendence, I know it to be attainable.

Leon Todd Campbell,
Melton, Ont.

'Chilled to the bone'

The article "Klein's gross letters" (*Opening Notes*, Sept. 26) left me chilled to the bone. While Karin Monella profiles on about her problems, the families of her victims—the two Ontario schoolgirls whose lives were tragically cut short, in part, by her brutality—live a lifetime of anguish and loss. The fact that Monahan's letters show no remorse, or remorse of her crimes, adds credence to the belief that there are people who are born evil.

Monique Nadeau,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

What Should
the Term
'Cholesterol Free'
Mean to You?

Mumbo Jumbo!

Nowadays all kinds of foods make claims about their cholesterol content. Claims that omit the fact that cholesterol-free does not mean fat-free. Claims that fuel misconceptions and confusion about eggs.

No wonder so many Canadians don't realize it is the saturated fat in food, not the cholesterol, which is the main dietary factor in maintaining healthy blood cholesterol.

In fact, for most people the cholesterol in foods has little or no effect on blood cholesterol.

So if you're an egg lover who's been holding back because of cholesterol, feel free to cut loose.

Because it's hard to beat the honest goodness of eggs.

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None of us are born sure-footed. □ So what makes one person excel, while others never quite catch their stride? □ At TSN, our experience with successful athletes suggests positive reinforcement at a young age is a major factor. □ And that's the way we approached it when the North York school board asked us to help set up a "Stay In School" program. □ Using inspirational speakers and incentives to encourage attendance in the pivotal grades of eight and nine, the program's success has been overwhelming. □ We still don't have all the answers on how to keep kids in school.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



The trouble with Jimmy the Generous

BY FRED BRUNING

A secret New Yorker cartoon shows two natty gliberts at a gin and ready to discuss each other while the bartender tries desperately to keep the peace. "Bull out, Buster!" says one of the antagonists. "Who the hell do you think you are—Jimmy Carter?"

On the preceding page, the publication ran an item about Yassine Chikri, the 15-year-old wife of the newly retired Haitian dictator. Again, the former U.S. president stood menial because Carter, who met Mrs. Chikri during an emergency trip to Haiti last month, felt called upon to describe her as "filthy" and "very attractive." Suddenly, Jimmy Carter was looking like a correspondent for *People* magazine.

This is the same Carter who told an interviewer during the 1976 presidential campaign that he "considered adultery in my heart every time"—a remark that gave late-night TV hostess Maureen O'Connell for a lifetime. Big deal, Jimmy, you had a few X-rated daydreams, but why discuss it? And with a reporter?

The answer because when it comes to the perils of peacock politics, Jimmy Carter does not lead from behind. He has the terrible addiction to candor and no instinct for artful dodging when a tough question comes his way. The slipperiness and double-talk mastered so easily by public servants at every level of government went beyond the poor man's scope.

It is as though Carter, 50, suffers some sort of queer learning disability that if diagnosed early might have been corrected. Or perhaps his mother, the now-deceased Miss Ellen, started her child with innocent sarcasm about goodness and mercy. Also possible is that young Jimmy took seriously the satirical George Washington, Jr. America High lesson in first grade. Carter told a left-Miami beach seagull god to Jimmy Carter.

Carter's absurd allegiance to morality is taken as sedition in many quarters, and, as much as anything, cost him the White House

Talk about getting off on the wrong track.

An elegant rise from Plains, Ga., Carter could so more prepare himself before the citizens than Bill a person such with empty shells. Such obvious allegiance to morality is taken as sedition in many quarters, and, as much as anything, explains why Carter lost the White House after six terms. Working too simply cannot afford to have the tag man running around as though sedition is sedition. If the proverbial starts leveling with the country, senators and congressmen and agency chiefs might be expected to do the same—or at least the proverbial. Members of both parties turned on Jimmy Carter like he had proposed a law on homosexuality. The chief executive was a winner, no doubt.

There were other reasons for Carter's demise, of course. He had that goofy, thin-lipped smile, and his voice was strictly an presidential—too much Mr. Rogers, not enough James Earl Jones—and there was the matter of his accent. Bill Clinton gets away with the corporate cadence because he sounds like a certain senator in his delivery. But Jimmy Carter sounded like a cousin of Milton Pearl.

On the other hand, he had an opponent in '80 Ronald Reagan, second none beautifully and had a trace of responsibility. The Gipper had only a trace of an idea, either, but who cared? Not anyone, Jimmy Carter.

Carter refused. He banded together to Gaur ga, pulled himself together and set out to make a difference. With his wife, Rosalynn, the associated Carter did extensive volunteer work for Habitat for Humanity, a group that builds housing for low-income families. Then he set up the Carter Center in Atlanta as an initiative devoted to global conflict resolution. The project had grandiose aspects, but Carter pressed ahead. At this point, he was accountable only to himself.

Most remarkably, Carter began functioning as a freelance diplomat—a kind of shadow secretary of state who appeared in trouble spots when disaster was nigh—and earlier this month was the proconsul J. William Fulbright. Prior to proceeding international understanding.

During the Panama Gulf crisis, Carter tried to avert hostilities by lobbying Bush administration officials and leaders at the United Nations. (No logic George Bush would not be denied his lovely little war.) He mediated the Eritrean-Ethiopian civil conflict, helped avert a major incident in North Korea over nuclear proliferation, held high-level talks in Cuba and, most recently, convinced Haitian junta leader Gen. Banke Clinton to resign and return to the United States. (The president's name is Bernard Armand.) The arrangement may not be perfect but this is sure: if Carter had not succeeded, the U.S. military would have hit the beaches, and plenty of Haitians—and likely some American GIs—would have died.

So it turns out that Carter is half good, half genius? Not quite. Carter is said to be hard-working and self-righteous, and clearly has the widest eyes of all who (ask) they rate public attention. He was a literary prodigy—someone who "knew all of the words and near of the same," as a Carter associate told *The New York Times*. He made a literary misdeed by trying to rescue U.S. hostages in Iran—an embarrassing error that ended in disaster. Even if American rescuers had attacked Tehran, lives almost certainly would have been lost. It was Carter's own exasperation at the attack, and he paid for his error just as he paid for his error.

As a diplomat, Carter has inspired some Washington professionals who say he improves too much and has a penchant for calling things. Carter gave assurances to join to members in Haiti that they could remain in the country though Clinton had demanded otherwise, and, at one point, Jimmy the Generous said it was just "going wrong" to view Clinton as a bad guy—a view that must have surprised Haitians who lived in fear of the general and his goons.

Whatever Carter's shortcomings, he has been a revelation since leaving office. Other leaders have got and work the big lecture lecture circuit. Carter gets his big lecture the world is one place. The guy just has a greater set of priorities, loyalty for us.

Fred Bruning is a writer with *New York* in New York.



TAKING THE HEAT

BY WARREN CARAGATA

As he launches a public debate on reform of Canada's social programs, Lloyd Axworthy has a most peculiar link. The human resources minister must convince Canadians that he is not really Finance Minister Paul Martin. On the face of it, it should not be such a hard thing to do. They do not look at all alike, and have few apparent similarities. Martin is an adopted Quebecer attitudinal in both official languages and equally fluent in the language of business. Axworthy is a Winnipegger who speaks dogged French, a non-union university professor with a long pedigree on the Liberal left. But as the debate begins, his work on what could be the most fundamental overhaul of social programs since the end of the Second World War, there was a simmering suspicion that Axworthy is just a stand-in for the hard-pinned minister, especially since the move is not about reforming social programs as much as it is about cutting them to reduce the deficit. Axworthy himself admitted that the perception could engender his enemies. "We have to prove that it's real reform," he told *Maclean's* last week.

Friend and foe alike believe that Axworthy's ability to prove his reform credentials will help determine whether he can make good on his pledge to bring in legislation within a year to radically reform federal funding for social programs, including Unemployment Insurance, welfare and postsecondary education. "I think he has a somewhat tall task," says John Fryer, a professor at the School of Public Administration at the University of Victoria and a member of the task force that advised Axworthy on the reforms. "He has to convince people that politicians can still be sincere."

But discussion within Liberal ranks about the scope of the changes threatened to undermine the human resources minister. Only hours before Axworthy rose in the Commons last week to table his discussion paper, *The Toronto Star* published highlights of a leaked cabinet briefing note saying that Axworthy and Martin struck a secret agree-

Ottawa's social program reforms spark a storm of controversy

Rewriting the rule book

Lloyd Axworthy's 40-page discussion paper calls for sweeping reforms in several critical areas of federal spending on social programs. Among the key options:

- Creating a two-tiered unemployment insurance system in which frequent UI claimants would receive lower benefits while occasional claimants would not be affected. Cuts would be cut by lowering benefits and setting longer qualifying periods.
- Reducing federal grants to the provinces for postsecondary education, while improving access to student loans and requiring provinces to repay their debts only after they find work.
- Giving provinces more control over welfare and social services, with the aim of reducing federal transfer payments.
- Deciding which tax benefits to the needy recipients and setting targets for reducing child poverty.
- Improving wage supplements for the working poor to encourage welfare recipients to enter the workforce.

ment to keep quiet about how much money the government intends to strip from social programs beyond the \$1.5-billion annual cut in welfare and education funding promised in the last federal budget. The actual figure the document suggested could be an additional \$7.5 billion. The leachery fire was not just limited to attacks from the shadows but included a public slap from Liberal MP John

Norris. "For 16 years in opposition, we accused the Conservatives of trying to reduce the deficit on the backs of the disadvantaged in our society," the Toronto MP said. "It appears that we're doing the same thing."

Axworthy downplayed the leak as the sloppy work of a lone official, and dismissed Norris's comments as the act of a malcontent. But he acknowledged that, both events took some of the gloss off his long-awaited announcement. "I was a little taken off," he said, but while he insisted that he wants to improve federal programs so they provide more help for those who need it most,

Axworthy readily conceded that part of the reason for reform is the federal deficit, expected to be \$30.7 billion this year. The discussion paper, more than six months in the making, lists shared ability in one of three objectives, along with support for the needy and helping Canadians to get and keep jobs. "Until the fiscal situation of government improves," the document says, "there will be no new money for new programs and existing expenditures must be brought under control and in some instances reduced."

But the government is not saying exactly how much money must be cut over and above the reductions announced in the last budget. Axworthy said cabinet has discussed some ranges of reductions that could be made—whether his decisions have been revealed. One leader said the Liberals were going through about spelling it out. "The political winds decide that they didn't want to scare the ladders too much."

Despite the Liberals' best efforts to shift the debate away from potential cuts, that is exactly where critics pounced. "It confirms all the apocalyptic views we had," said Elie Garneau, leader of the Reform party and some business groups complained fire over debate cuts are needed to bring the deficit under control. "We're not getting our country to pay for these programs," said Alberta Reformist Bob Johnston. Critics on both the right and the left found some common ground in conclusions that the



Axworthy, attacked from both sides for either doing too much—or too little

discussion paper was too vague—and for removed from the "action plan" that Axworthy promised last January. It sets out only options for change and does so with deliberate caution, the obvious result of compromise that Axworthy had to make to get it approved by his cabinet colleagues. It will be the task of a Commons committee chaired by New South Liberal Frances LeBlanc to help turn the proposals into legislation. Axworthy wants the committee's report by February

The committee report will serve as the basis for what promises to be long negotiations with the provinces. While Ottawa has the power to make unilateral changes in many areas, it does not want to pick fights at a delicate time for national unity. Successful and harmonious social policy reform is necessary to show Quebecers, agonizing an independence referendum that federalism can work, said Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Marcel Masse. The initial soundings from provin-

cial capitals were not promising. As expected, Quebec barked thanks down, with Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Louise Beaudoin saying that the document paper amounted to a federal power grab that could be best ignored by independence. Ontario's Bob Rae, facing an election within a year, said the proposals were so vague as to be unusable.

One area where the discussion paper goes beyond government is in suggestions for reform of unemployment insurance. Outside of health care and pensions, which will be subject to periodic reviews, UI is the government's most expensive social program, costing employers and employees \$17.2 billion this fiscal year. It is a program that the government says has become almost fatally flawed, outdated, open to abuse and too expensive. The paper says the program could be reigned by increasing the number of weeks required to qualify for benefits and by reducing the benefits the employers.

Most Canadians would see little change if UI was reformed according to Axworthy's prescriptions. People who make only occasional claims would get basic assistance, hence the under rules similar to the existing ones. But it would be different for regular claimants—a number that has been steadily growing. Between 1988 and 1995 about 38 per cent of people on UI had claimed benefits at least three times. That accounted for a total of 56 billion—or about half of the money paid out in regular benefits. As an incentive to find more secure jobs, programs for the frequent claimants would be less generous. Regulators might also have to get job counselling or take a training course to get benefits. "In a time of limited resources, Canadians need to consider

carefully whether income-tested benefits would make sense," the paper says. It also discusses ways to change UI financing, with one option setting higher premiums for workers in industries with unusual employment or frequent layoffs.

The government says it wants to spend more money to help the unemployed get back to work. But here it runs up against the deficit dilemma. Money for training and counselling would be taken from UI savings that result from lower benefits, but the government says it also wants to use some of the

Apocalypse Now



Death is the ultimate stage of personal growth.

—Cult leader Luc Jounet, as a cassette widely distributed through New Age stores in Quebec.

We are leaving this Earth to find, in all hostility and freedom, a new dimension of truth and oblivion.

—From a letter purportedly written by one of Jounet's followers before police discovered the bodies of 53 people linked to the sect.

BY ROSS LAVER



Jounet: scout

For close to a decade, Luc Jounet earned two seemingly paradoxical obscurities. A self-styled homeopathic healer, he rarely missed an opportunity to lecture people on how, by following his teachings, they could achieve happier and more fulfilling lives. But among his closest associates, the 46-year-old Belgian and sometime Quebec resident displayed an even more powerful fascination with a darker subject—death. The world was hurtling towards Judgment Day, he claimed, and only those who subscribed to his strange blend of Catholicism and the occult would escape the impending catastrophe. Last week, the long-awaited apocalyptic finally struck, but its only victims were Jounet's hapless followers—and, perhaps, the charismatic cult leader himself.

Messire Seudre was one of the first outsiders to witness the tragic consequences of Jounet's teachings. A real estate agent in the shrewdest town of Mont-Royal, 15 km north of Montreal, he awoke last Tuesday morning to the sound of a passerby rapping on his front door, shouting "help" in a few words Seudre, believing that the 11-year-old nephew was incoherently telegraphed the fire department, which extinguished the blaze within 30 minutes. Only later did police discover the badly charred bodies of a man and woman, as well as several pendents with the letters T and S inscribed; and, another disturbing clue: the Four Hallelujahs at the Apocalypse carrying a skull and a sickle. The property investigators said, he belonged to Jounet and another man, Joseph De Mandre, known to police at Switzerland as a wealthy member of the Order of the Solar Temple, the secretive sect Jounet helped to establish in the early 1980s.

At first, police in Quebec treated the fire as an isolated case of arson—probably the result of a suicide pact, they said, noting that the house had been rigged with an elaborate system of wires, timers and containers of gasoline. Less than 12 hours later, however, there was an even more shocking tragedy. In the picturesque Swiss farming village of Chézy, 26 km southwest of Bern, police found the bodies of 23 people in a fire-damaged building belonging to the same sect. Twenty of the corpses had bullet wounds and some also had plastic bags tied over their heads. An additional 25 victims, including several children, were discovered at two burned-out chalets at another cult property in Granges-sur-Selva, 100 km to the south (page 16). As at Quebec, all the fires appeared to have been sparked by a sophisticated network of telephones, timers, heating rods and plastic bags filled with gasoline and kerosene. Among the dead were as many as 11 50-year-olds, including Robert Orligny, 50, mayor of the Montfleur-sur-Sarraz town of Richelieu, his wife, Françoise, 52, Jean-Luc Grand'Maison, a 44-year-old journalist with the *Journal de Québec*,

Mystery surrounds the violent deaths of 53 people linked to a bizarre cult



Chalet in Mont-Royal in flames (above); clearing up the wreckage; piles of illegal arms, dealing and bizarre sex rituals

Mid-1980s: Luc Jounet brings followers from Switzerland and France to Quebec.

1987: Jounet and two others establish the Order of the Solar Temple in Quebec.

1990: Jounet named out as main leader of the order, and founds another group called Acheron (Academy for Research and Knowledge of Advanced Science).

January, 1993: Jounet resigns from the order's executive committee.

March, 1993: Jounet and two followers charged with possessing illegal weapons.

July, 1993: Jounet pleads guilty to reduced charges and leaves Quebec, apparently for Switzerland.

Oct. 4-5, 1994: At least 53 people linked to the cult die in Switzerland and St.-Anne-de-la-Pérade, Quebec. Jounet is unaccounted for.

Fire up above

A Swiss town struggles to understand



I I was a woman living in the valley down below who first noticed the fire on the mountain and called in an alarm at 3 a.m. The burning chalet was in Granges-sur-Salvagn, a scenic idyllic second-general-the-way climb up a flank of Switzerland's Lesnais Mountains, but Chief Serge Pitino got there within minutes. He knew just two towns over—then all his life. In his 36 years, Pitino had never seen a dead body, but when he reached the inferno he was convinced he was about to see his first.

There were five cars parked on street, and Pitino took five to mean there were four, and Pitino took five to mean there were three people trapped inside. But he was alone at the scene, and the intensity of the flames kept him back. So Pitino waited for the rest of Salvagn's 17 man volunteer brigade to arrive, as the clock ticked toward 3:30, the fire raged and the two-story chalet began to collapse onto itself. It was only when he reflected on events afterward that Pitino recalled the pop of what might have been explosives coming from two neighboring chalets just below him. Although he still could not place the exact moment when he realized that they, too, were burning.

Pitino was wrong about what he would find in the engulfed blaze. Despite the cars in the driveway, there was no one inside the home—although it would take two days for investigators to be sure. The true horror lay below.

When Pitino and his men drove onto a plateau to fight the second incident, they found the door to the burned chalet. When they looked in, they spotted the first bodies almost immediately: five people lying on their backs at a rest, now sleeping peacefully in the living room, a wash basin in the best of the adjoining room. "There was no sign of violence," Pitino said later. "No bullets, no bags over their heads. They had their hands crossed and some were wearing religious medals around their necks. Some of them had skin burns, but the fire in that chalet was not bad. Like certain days were passed."

Eight more bodies were discovered in that chalet. But the fire in the house next door burned more fiercely. It was not until noon that the firemen found 11 badly charred bodies under its ashes and rubble. "By then, we were having trouble with our own pressure," said a chemical-sprinkler Pitino as he and six other firemen sponged over beers after a day of cleanup up the site. "We're not equipped to fight three fires at once."

Little wonder Salvagn's orange-saturated firemen put out the occasional small fire, but they are more accustomed to rescuing people from avalanches or deaths from aging glaciers. The town has not seen anything so disastrous since

Napoleon's armies occupied nearby Martigny in the early 19th century. "Nothing has happened here since 1800," said Pitino. "Nothing happened in my parents' lifetime."

The grisly find was disturbing for the men who fought the fire and found the bodies, but many of the town's 1,100 other residents seemed almost blasé about the cause of international attention. By Friday, the local newspaper, *Le Nouvelliste*, was not even putting the story at the top of its front page: the firing of the soccer coach in nearby Sion was deemed more important. Salvagn was not a town in mourning; the victims were not friends or relatives of the townsfolk. Luc Jaquet and his fellow cult member Joseph Di Mambro had been in the area for four or five years, but they were outsiders part of the faceless foreign community of Dutch, French and British who barely mix with locals. "You have to understand, this is a tourist area," said a neighbor named Jacky who refused to give his last name for fear that Jaquet might return to burn down his chalet. "People walk around all the time and we don't bother to ask what they are doing."

But underneath that starchy machismo, some residents admitted how they had grown unsettled by Di Mambro and Jaquet. Their crowd was too rich, too flashy for a middle-class tourist area, where maintenance consisted of walking or cross-country skiing, and where the streets are largely silent by 10 p.m. "I said to my wife, 'This isn't normal, these are high-class people,'" said 78-year-old Luc Buser, a former mountain adjuster, as he picked his way through the post-fire debris, which included a copious glow from French newspapers. By the time of the fire, most people in Salvagn had come to the same conclusion: Jaquet and his friends might be drug dealers although Buser also theorized that the presence of pretty "pos-ups" meant they might be operating a sex ring.

"It was bizarre," said resident Pierre Jacquet. "They drove expensive cars and were very well dressed for this area. It just wasn't normal." Jacquet as a house builder, but in a small town where people like to pitch in he is also vice-president of the town council and a volunteer fireman. "I can hardly sleep since that night," he said. "I keep thinking about the children who died." A few years ago, Jacquet built the chalet that burned to the ground last week. As the roof collapsed, it roared that he because I had built myself in place," Jacquet said with a very smile. He showed a note of satisfaction to look through his glasses. "I did good work," he said.

BRUCE WALLACE in Granges-sur-Salvagn



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landscape with a flag



after portrait



after portrait

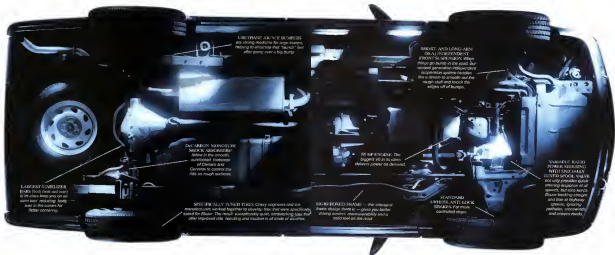


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'SWEET MICKY'S' FLIGHT

A police chief abandons
his troops as the old order falls

A police headquarters in downtown Port-au-Prince, the model of an idyllic island as the laissez-faire building's dirty yellow walls. A couple of dozen officers, clad in rubber blue or khaki, are clustered around a policehead as also, basking with increasing anger at the desecration of a supporter of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide who has sustained quiet access to the network. "Where is your father now?" the diarrhoeal nose cracks in Rielles Grotte. It is a barbed lance, not the assembled officers understand only too well. For not so long ago, those very same words were often used by the police as they reached up followers of Aristide, an unadorned priest. On this occasion, however, the initial have been ready handed. And it is the police themselves who are being marked, partially reminded that they have just been abandoned by their own leader, Port-au-Prince's feared police chief, Lt-Col. Joseph Michel François.

Hours earlier, François, who once seemed to be rather than leave Haiti, took away at the end of night. He packed his wife, his mistress, another mistress and three bodyguards into a four-wheel-drive Mitsubishi Montero and headed westward for the Dominican Republic. After spending the night trapped in a jammer's snarl of no more a land between the Haitian and Dominican border posts while awaiting permission to cross, he finally slipped

quietly across the frontier early on the morning of Oct. 4, to what promises to be a house room exile. The man widely known as Port-au-Prince's gritty streets in "Sweet Micky's" left behind a letter of resignation. "Between disorder and retreat," he wrote. "I chose retreat in the hope of wholeheartedly serving the cause of peace and the Haitian people."

François's troops did not see the matter in quite the same light. "We're totally disoriented," declared officer Jean Daniel as he stood in police headquarters, questioning the decision emanating from the rank and struggling to come to terms with "Sweet Micky's" sudden flight. "He's about done up as the masses." "I would love, Daniel bitterly complained, too, if could. But I can't, I don't really know what I'm going to do now."

There were probably many officers in Haiti who were asking themselves much the same question last week, particularly those associated in any way with the outgoing regime. For François's departure was merely one of a number of similar signals, all pointing to the same conclusion. Under steadily mounting pressure from the U.S. military presence, now number-

ing in excess of 30,000 troops, the Haitian military leadership that has been managing the country for the past three years is in the process of unraveling. "It became very clear that there's a new sheriff in town," said U.S. Embassy spokesman Stanley Schapiro, offering one explanation for the light side role of the first of the three leaders of the coup that ousted Aristide in 1991. Describing François's exit as a "major step forward," Schapiro expressed the hope that it would help to spur fellow

protesters Lt.-Gen. René Chénier and Brig. Gen. Philippe Bédard to follow suit.

There are few signs as yet of that happening. Chénier, in fact, continues to insist on remaining in the country even after Aristide makes his scheduled return this week. As for Bédard, he is not saying anything at all. Others close to this outgoing regime are beginning to speak out, however. In the wake of François's departure last week, Emmanuel Constant, the leader of the army's new civilian paramilitary group,

publicly denounced violence while endorsing Aristide's return, even promising to serve as the "loyal opponent" to a future Aristide government. "Violence no longer has a place in our society," Constant announced as he awaited his departure, promising at the same time a "festival of reconciliation" when he returns to Haiti on Oct. 15. Outgoing a 19-year national reconstruction program, the democratically elected president described the ultimate goal of his new civilian government as an effort to "finally see himself, turning it into a military." At the same time, however, he dropped a veiled hint that his reported calls for reconciliation might not include total immunity for those who failed to ever throw him three years ago. "We clearly and finally say yes to accountability, no to violence, no to vengeance," he declared. But he also insisted that he intended to say "yes to equity, yes to justice."

Back in Port-au-Prince, the newly restored Haitian parliament passed a measure that would allow Aristide to pardon the generals for political murders and for other "crimes and misdemeanors." The precise meaning of that clause was not clear. Observers questioned whether the proposed legislation covers only the "political" participation of Cofens and his associates in the coup or whether it also of less protection from prosecution for crimes involved in the estimated 30,000 deaths that have occurred since the coup. There were also questions about whether the proposed amnesty provides immunity for any of the civil or criminal acts the military and their civilian allies may have committed, including the countless thousands of cases of beating, torture rape and extortion.

That uncertainty, in fact, may well have been one of the more compelling reasons that drove Col. François across the border into the Dominican Republic last week. For Sweet Micky, as much and probably more than any other member of the military establishment, has been responsible for much of the terrorism in the country over the past three years. He ruled the streets of Port-au-Prince with an iron hand, holding on to power through a combination of brute force and lawlessness.

In the process, he assumed a personal role. The son of a member of François (then Doc) Duvalier's presidential guard, Col. François, 38, lived in an enormous mansion in the hills overlooking the capital. He controlled the port and the customs, receiving a slice-off on almost every imported product entering the country. He also had interests in Haiti's cement industry, the state car assembly scheme and the largest logging company in Port-au-Prince. François may even have financed his ultimate fate for the past several months: he has been busy buying properties in the Dominican Republic. A couple of weeks before the arrival of the U.S. troops, he sent his three young sons across the border. Now, he is in exile, as well that he eventually must, suffering what is more than can be said for those he left behind. □

U.S. soldiers arrest Haitian policeman. RCMP officers in Ottawa prepare to leave for Haiti (below): the tables have been nearly turned



ASSIGNMENT
BARRY CAME IN HAITI



Purple prose

A kiss-and-tell book exposes a royal affair

REPORT FROM LONDON

BY BRUCE WALLACE

It felt good to find she devoted as the desired time leaving suggestive looks, slowly, carefully showing her elegant neck as she looked at him. Janet smiled delighted. The scene was when with him, with her creamy complexion and with her devastating combination of demure and passion. Diana stood up and with out saying a word stretched out her hand and slowly led James to her bedroom.

As if to match the latest instalment of the Royal Family's latest oral tradition, British bookworms spent last week stocking, and restocking, as many copies as they could acquire of *Princess in Love*, the account of a purported five-year extramarital love affair between Diana, Princess of Wales, and army officer James Hewitt. Now unemployed and rumored to be steadily taking from the press in Argentina, Hewitt stands to earn a small fortune for spelling the details in gossipy free-lance writer Aaron Pasternak. Just about everybody else benefits, as well, not least the gossip-loving public, who has turned at the summons of it all with unabashed delight in the latest revelations.

The alleged details are almost beside the point, however, as it goes mainly, she asked him for help in overcoming her fear of horses, and within months the pair were smoking into royal residences and country manors across Britain in college suits and silver canisters. Perfectly. Buckingham Palace defended the book "glibly and wordlessly" a spokesman said. The British media quickly concluded that Hewitt was a cat for eating at on the other and speculated on whether he should be executed for treason under an obscure 14th-century law that makes it a crime to commit adultery with the wife of the king or the queen. "Love, at all will not wash" was how the bestselling Daily Star paraphrased Diana's reaction. And there was one more round of self-protection debate about the constitutional implications of royal scandal.

But the entry seemed almost rehearsed in the book industry. Of course, in the writing community. Absolutely. It seems, "A, both of self-indulgence and the room," and goes downhill from there. Pasternak, the 27-year-old grandson of the late Boris Pasternak—the author of *Doctor Zhivago*—would surely have been relieved at missing the publisher's submission—takes the word for hypocrisy by



Diana: people love the spectacle, and the royal affair

claiming that she wrote the book because "the love that Princess Diana had shared with another man was too special to remain secret." Most surprisingly, Pasternak presumes knowledge of Diana's innermost thoughts at every stage of the romance. After asking him to Hewitt for the first time, she "kept waiting for the first of her that had led with Charles's rejection that delicate had of

worldly optimism and confidence which had been slipped away from its stem before it had time to open." Hewitt may have presided the submission, but the book is written from Diana's viewpoint.

Most curious are the descriptions of Hewitt, described endorsed by Hewitt himself—"This man who seemed expert at making women confident as to the force of their own femininity." Hewitt, writes Pasternak, "was blessed with a potent playful candor, a belief in his own body which amazed her," and "would walk naked across a room, secure in the knowledge that all was as it should be." For now, at least. There is no telling what the other members of the Queen's Life Guards, stationed in the vicinity of loyalty and discretion and reportedly outraged at Hewitt's betrayal, will do to him if they catch him. If nothing else, Hewitt is no traitor to his class.

Despite that, there is little sense of tragedy in the air. The royals are not victims, least of all Diana. She will end the war to measure with a divorce but choose, instead, to match Charles's pattern of denigrating press leaks and attempts at one-upmanship. Occasionally, the publicity man marches into Diana's life. And it is not just laughter to the royal orbit who seek to turn aristocratic riches. The week before the release of *Princess in Love*, Sarah Ferguson, the Duchess of York, was lambasted by the revolution about her marriage to Prince Andrew in a book written by her own father.

The royal ring opens has gone on so long, and holds such a huge part of Britain's public life, that it would be missed if it disappeared. People love the spectacle, and the royals deliver. Long ago having crossed into more of the work territory. Imagine Hugh Grant as the self-serving Hewitt, and Diana Thompson as the spirited, desperate Diana. How about casting Kevin Costner for Charles? Costner may be too handsome, but is certainly talented enough.

Were it not for the Wilson's two young boys, the mix between Charles and Diana would be a virtual no-brainer. One can only hope that the children emerge from these strange games unscathed. In a recently said television portrait of Charles, the future king (who has come out in favor of corporal punishment for children) is seen roughhousing with his 10-year-old son. 12-year-old William, at one point, William, ends up and gives his father a slap on the head. Hard. So far, it seems to have had little effect. □

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PERSIAN GULF TENSIONS

U.S. President Bill Clinton ordered an air-raft carrier to the region and put American soldiers on alert amid reports of Iraqi troop movements near the Kuwait border. And at the United Nations, U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright eloquently threatened Iraq with punitive air strikes. Baghdad denied that it was planning to invade Kuwait, as it did in 1990. But the troop buildup followed a threat by Iraqi officials to take unspecified action unless the UN Security Council issued a tight four-year-old embargo.

A PEACE OFFENSIVE

Irish republican leader Gerry Adams hailed the start of a "historic new era" after meeting with state department officials in Washington. During Adams's visit to the United States, President Bill Clinton lifted a 20-year ban on contacts with Sinn Féin, political wing of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, which recently declared a ceasefire in its 25-year-old guerrilla war against British rule in Northern Ireland.

CLINTON AIDE RESIGNS

In the latest scandal to hit the Clinton administration, Agriculture Secretary Mike Dooley resigned amid allegations that he improperly accepted five barrels and gifts from Arkansas-based Tyson Foods Inc., the largest U.S. poultry producer.

LABOR DIVIDED

At the annual conference of Britain's Opposition Labour Party, left-wing members won approval of a resolution calling for widespread nationalization of industry. The vote embarrassed moderate Labour Leader Tony Blair, who had pledged to drop the party's traditional socialist stance.

A DISARMING MOVE

Panama's national assembly voted to amend the 1992 constitution and permanently abolish the army, becoming the second Central American country after Costa Rica to ban its leaders from wearing armed forces. The military ruled Panama for two decades until it was destroyed in 1989 by the U.S. invasion to oust strongman Gen. Manuel Noriega.

A GUILTY VERDICT

A jury in Prosser, Fla., found anti-abortion militant Paul Hill guilty of violating a federal law that prohibits threatening to abortion clinics. He could face life in prison for the conviction. Hill, a former Presbyterian minister, will stand trial early next year for the July shooting deaths of Dr. John Britton and James Barrett, one of his escorts, outside an abortion clinic.

World NOTES



DEADLY FORCE

Highways buckled and bridges collapsed on Japan's northern island of Hokkaido as a massive undersea earthquake, registering 8.5 on the Richter scale, ripped through the Pacific region. The quake injured at least 180 people on Hokkaido and killed at least six residents of the disputed Kuril Islands, a chain claimed by both Russia and Japan.

A conspiracy theory

Mexican authorities knew who killed José Francisco Ruiz Massieu, secretary general of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Moments after the Sept. 28 shooting outside a Mexico City hotel, police arrested Daniel Aguilar Treviño, the missing gun still in his hand. But now they say know why. Last week, Deputy Attorney General Mario Ruiz Massieu, the brother of the victim and the leader of the investigation into his assassination, said that a group of politicians, perhaps working with cocaine barons, apparently ordered the murder to block reforms to the PRI, which has governed Mexico for 65 years. Francisco Ruiz Massieu, the party's No. 2 leader, was seen as key to pushing through reforms that would weaken PRI's old guard, distance the party from government and make the electoral system fairer.

His murder came less than seven months after the assassination of PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, who had also attracted democratic reforms. So far, a PRI legislator and a former party leader in the state of Guerrero have been accused of planning the latest murder. But Mario Ruiz Massieu said that he doubts the two men had ordered the plot. "Drug traffickers may have used a group of men and/or classic politicians who did not want changes or modernization in the country's political life, or they may have fanned this aggression," he said in a radio interview. Two of 12 suspects in the investigation have testified that the masterminds of the murder had drawn up a list of other PRI politicians in the northern state of Tamaulipas, headquarters of the "Gulf cartel" cocaine gang.



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WARNING SIGNS

As the economy grows, is inflation a threat?

Inflation—or the threat of inflation, at least—played havoc with financial markets last week. Fervidly by some that the U.S. central bank, the Federal Reserve Board, may be poised to hike interest rates for the sixth time this year to stave off early signs of inflation, the Toronto Stock Exchange index of 360 companies plunged 65 points last week, while the Dow Jones Industrial Index on the New York Stock Exchange fell 38 points. Higher interest rates act as a disincentive to buying stocks because they cut into corporate profits while making other kinds of investments more attractive. "The market has an exaggerated preoccupation right now with inflationary trends, particularly in the United States," said Fred Karcher, a veteran stock market watcher with Scotia-McLeod Inc. in Toronto. "Inflation won't look like such a problem to us." Others, however, are more cautious. David Rosenberg, senior economist with Newell Burns Corp., in Ott.: "I'm not saying that inflation is about to begin rattling up like it did in the 1970s or 1980s, but it has definitely hit batons," said Rosenberg. "Prices are beginning to rise. Inflation may be dormant for the moment, but it's far from dead."

Right now, official measures of inflation show disappointingly low levels of price increases. In Canada the Consumer Price Index is expected to average just 0.2 per cent in 1994, the lowest level since 1928. But

BUSINESS

that exceptionally low figure is due primarily to a drop in oil and tobacco taxes last February. Since the tobacco price reduction, the underlying annual rate is rising at a modest 1.1 per cent. In the United States, however, inflation is now about three per cent—and climbing. And the early warning signs of escalating prices that the central bankers and the Wall Street markets watch most closely are beginning to flash.

South of the border, inflation is still a key measure of how close the economy is to producing at full capacity—as at 84.7 per cent, close to the high set in 1966, at the height of the last economic boom. And despite goods orders for the 12 months to the end of August were up 17 per cent, there are clear signals of strong industrial output and growing consumer demand, two precursors to inflation. Even U.S. home sales are still rising, despite the hefty jump in interest rates this year. The economic momentum gathering in the United States is strongly nudging Canada along for the ride. Commodity prices for Canada's raw material exports are up an average of 11 per cent, and consumer spending is expected to increase by three per cent, almost double 1993's only.

The main line of fighting against these inflationary trends is the federal reserve. It began tightening the money supply a year ago, but on Feb. 4 it turned a cold shoulder to the rebounding U.S. economy when

Fixed asset plant in Oshawa, Ont.: car prices are increasing.

it increased the federal fund rate by one-quarter of a percentage point to 3.25 per cent. Since then, the rate has risen to 4.75 per cent. When the U.S. increases rates, Canada, which is a large net borrower as international financial markets, often under pressure to push up rates to attract investors who might otherwise be tempted to seek higher returns elsewhere.

Despite much market speculation, however, the federal reserve refrained from hiking interest rates again last week. Some observers say that the bank is merely taking a political breather, waiting until after the November elections to boost rates again.

The ultimate result of the combination of strong economic growth and higher interest rates in the subject of problems in the basic commodity markets currently. Low, Tary, a Vancouver-based investment analyst, says that the higher interest rates have effectively neutralized inflation. "After this year or early next, there will be signs of slowing economic growth," said Tary. "My inflation indicators have blown out. They've turned."

Others, however, are less confident that inflation has been halted. They say that despite the federal reserve's apparently early response to signs of economic strength, central bankers have failed to raise interest rates high enough or fast enough to contain inflation. "The bond market is saying that it does not believe that the central banks are ahead of the inflation curve," said Rosenberg of the bond market that continues to push up longer-term interest rates.

In the past, the central bankers have repeatedly failed to keep in front of inflation. The bond market has yet to be convinced that this is not a repeat cycle. In fact, says Tary, the market is forecasting an inflation rate of 2.8 per cent in Canada next year, very close to the three-per-cent level that the Bank of Canada has set as its acceptable maximum.

In Canada, the signs of recovery are still lagging behind those in the United States. Industrial production is up strongly, and consumer spending is improving. Canada's GDP, however, which is forecast to grow by about four per cent in 1994, dipped unexpectedly in August by 0.1 per cent. And after three years of solid economic advances, employment finally began to grow in 1994. A total of 120,000 new jobs were created in the first eight months of 1994—more than were created in all of 1990. Furthermore, the unemployment rate has come down from a high of 11.8 per cent in November, 1992, to a rate

10.1 per cent in September. "Canada, no longer has a jobless recovery," said Rosenberg. But although employment is increasing, there are still no signs of wage-driven inflation yet. For now, wages are increasing at an average less than our overall averages, a mile away from both 1980s wage settlements and the underlying inflation rate.

Still, wage prices are spurring, most notably in Canada's all-important natural resources sector. The Bank of Nova Scotia's commodity price index indicates that in the past year commodities have averaged an 11-per-cent gain, with the biggest jumps coming in forest products and metals. Patricia Mohr, who tracks commodity markets as vice-president of economics at the bank, says that most commodity prices hit their lowest levels in 1993 and have begun to rebound. "It's a fairly strong recovery, and some sectors are very buoyant," said Mohr. "Since last year, we've had four pulp price increases," she said. "That's the most rapid increase I've ever seen in pulp."

The price of pulp, which is used to produce newsprint, paper and other products, reflects the general level of business activity, but prices are \$208 (U.S.) a ton from \$200 last December. At the same time, other commodity prices, traditionally quoted in U.S. dollars, are also climbing. Aluminum has gone to 74 cents from 47 cents a year ago. Copper and steel prices are also up significantly. Earlier this year, oil prices rebounded strongly, climbing to a high of just over \$20 a barrel in July, from about \$14 at the beginning of the year. Recently, however, oil prices slipped back by almost \$2 a barrel, although analysts expect the price to begin rising again with the winter heating season under way.

In the past, higher commodity prices have tended to immediately precede spurts of inflation. But the recession and recovery of the 1990s are different, said Mohr. "A rise in commodity prices will have an impact on inflation, but I don't expect it to be a more moderate one than in past business cycles." Mohr says that increased competition among producers around the world and significant advances in productivity as one of the main reasons why commodity price increases will be contained. The extensive introduction of new computer-based technology in manufacturing sectors has replaced many workers with machines—a trend that should also help to keep a lid on inflation. Machines, unlike workers, do not demand a wage increase when prices and profits rise. In addition, resource companies and the industrial companies they sell to are less likely to build large inventories as they did in the past. As a result of flattened data inventory levels, any increase in demand quickly works through the system and pushes up prices.

One new development, however, is adding uncertainty on the commodity front. In the past, a few of the Group of Seven industrialized nations and their demand for commodities determined prices. Now, for the first time, emerging economies such as China, and other Asian countries are joining the

Tracking inflation

After several years of low inflation, prices in some sectors are starting to climb (annual price change in percentage)



industrialized countries in bidding for everything from pulp to gold. That burgeoning demand may push up the price of commodities. In effect, that could repeat the high growth and inflation rates in countries like China in silver-guzzling economies like Canada's. "For the first time, China is becoming a very noticeable factor in world markets," said Mohr. "By the year 2000, they're going to be very large consumers. That could have an impact on our inflation."

At the other end of the economic spectrum, consumers, after four years of severely curtailed spending, are shopping again. And Rosenberg says retailers will use the return of consumers as an opportunity to increase prices. In Canada, retailers have squeezed their profit margins recently to compensate for the effect of a drop in the value of the Canadian dollar that has made imported goods more expensive. When consumers were strong enough to return, merchants doubled as much of the price increases as possible. But now, they will be eager to pass along some of those costs.

That situation is particularly acute in the auto industry. In that sector, the relative strength of the U.S. dollar and Japanese yen means that the price of American and Japanese cars has risen for Canadian drivers. Auto industry analyst Dennis DesRosiers of Toronto says that the situation is so bad that Japanese dealers report that they actually lose an average of \$215 on each new vehicle that they sell. (DesRosiers says that they rise offset by making up for that loss in their service department.) The Big Three North American car dealers are also reportedly losing money on the average vehicle that they sell, but since the U.S. dollar has not appreciated as much as the yen, their problems are thought to be less severe than the Japanese dealers'. Already, price pressures have begun to appear. Although the number of sales sold in the first nine months of this year has increased by 4.5 per cent, prices are up 8 per cent.

Despite these inflationary threats, there is one quarter where still bludgeoning the possibility of higher prices in Canada: the unemployment rate. A high unemployment rate keeps down inflation because workers are reluctant to demand wage increases. If they wage increases, union demands may either single factor, but inflation. So even though the unemployment rate is high, it is coming down faster now than predicted—falling by more than 1.5 per cent from its peak to its current level of 18.1 per cent. And economists are now forecasting that by next year it will be below 16 per cent. That was the level that former Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney's government had estimated would end the decade—an unpopular and truly forecast that turned out to be one of the factors that led to Campbell's political triumph last year. Which merely proves that, whether it be unemployment or inflation, predicting the economic future is a risky business.

BYRONA DALGLISSE

No time for talk



THE BOTTOM LINE

BY DEBBIE McMINN

There is a sudden lull in the state of the cabinet as the secret slowly descends over a spectacular future of autumn leaves. Whig flight attendants and business passengers stop their late-night drinking and sleepily gaze out at an unrecognizable, gloriously Canadian vista. From that altitude, it is almost impossible to grasp a truth of low for the land, sprawling country below.

If only that warm glow could be sustained beyond the luggage carousel. But just past the report's sliding doors looks reality—or at least Canada's peculiar version of reality. Confronted with the current clamour of war heat and native

can, the terrible truth is that however can transcend the proposed clamour, \$7.5 billion doesn't even come close to doing the trick. We are, at the end of the day, talking about a net foreign debt of \$205 billion and a \$10-billion annual tab for interest charges on it. But for many Canadians—including political leaders—there is clearly no connection between the rhetoric of fiscal responsibility and the harsh reality.

In part, the problem is that Canada has evolved into a self-rightish debating society rather than a mature industrial nation. At the outset, Confederation was brought about through the deliberate machinations of lawyers, not the forced action of military generals. And though decades of relative prosperity, we have had the luxury to build upon that tradition of compromise and consensus. Consequently, Canadians have developed an enormous threshold for chewing over every aspect of a national issue. When matters become too complex or too frustrating, we simply call an election, hold a referendum, or, better yet, create a royal commission to study it at even greater length and yet back to us with even more detail.

The deficit crisis, however, is utterly unrelated to such consensus-seeking tactics. For one thing, there really isn't much point to agonizing over a range of social policy options when you can't afford to pay for the social agenda. And unlike the Confederation or the unification of Quebec, neither our citizens nor something that can be easily discussed and debated. Nevertheless, instead of imposing the discipline required to address the problem, the Liberal government has produced yet another Grand Canadian Discussion Paper. Its purpose, federal Minister Resources Development Minister Lloyd Axworthy naturally assumes everyone, is nothing as radical as a proposed course of action. Good so it is merely an exercise intended to initiate a comprehensive nationwide consultation. And in the wider world, over this midday world in the carriage works, only one thing is certain: Canada is a much more attractive place from \$205 billion and not

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A photograph showing two men in business suits standing next to a red car, possibly a taxi, and looking at something on the ground. The man on the left is wearing a dark suit and tie, while the man on the right is wearing a white shirt and a patterned tie. They are both looking down at the ground near the front of the car. The car is red with a white roof rack. Other cars are visible in the background.

A sales boost and a shuffle

The Name game

A photograph of a man and a woman sitting at a table, each reading a book. A dog is sitting between them, looking up at the camera with its mouth open. The man is on the left, wearing a blue shirt, and the woman is on the right, also wearing a blue shirt. The dog is a light-colored breed, possibly a Golden Retriever. The background is dark.

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[illegible]



Our choice: go broke fast, or slowly

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Lloyd Axworthy's much anticipated social policy review (finally published last week), is one of those well-thought documents designed to alter the social contract between Canadians and their governments. Those critics who deny the fact that the document's ultimate purpose is to reduce deficit spending by more than \$7 billion should temper their hostility by remembering one thing: Over the past 20 years, the federal government's social net has placed much less to burden it.

The option Axworthy is having to defend were not his first choice. He is a Winnipeg politician with deep roots in the left wing of his party, doing all the way back to his social conscience days under Walter Gorkin, the nationalist guru who served for a time as Lester Pearson's finance minister. Axworthy would have much preferred to sponsor a policy based on a full-scale guaranteed social income, or its equivalent. That notion went out the window because it would have been too expensive. Nearly all of the programs a guaranteed annual income would replace would have had to be phased out over lengthy periods in a way that left its recipients least, also, up, say such new would have required federal assistance to be matched with provincial assistance. Quite apart from Jacques Parizeau, who declared that he wouldn't play in Axworthy's ball park even before the Ottawa recommendations began to leak out, provincial premiers don't want any part of any or magnitude that will reduce their clout.

The \$24 billion in transfer payments from Ottawa to the provinces at stake in the Axworthy proposals put again underlines the crazy state of dysfunction that underlies the efficiency of the country's governance. Wilton Watson, the McGill University economist, has calculated that it costs \$9 in public money to move \$1 between income classes. He points out that while Canadian governments at all levels spent more than \$300 billion a year, they require only \$13 billion to bring up to

The emphasis in Axworthy's paper is on the need for individual responsibility—something very close to a user-fee democracy

the poverty line all those Canadians currently below it.

To sell his program, Axworthy must take the high ground and insist that the social net must be reformed and not just relaxed. He must argue that the current social net is no longer desirable, while knowing that it's no longer affordable. That's a tough sell.

There's something very on Canadian about having to let or eliminate government handouts. Those who attack the public sector as largesse, claiming that the safety net has become a handout, ignore the fact that government support has become less a privilege than an entitlement. Having accepted responsibility for almost every economic and social need that shapes Canadian life, governments can now expect responsibility for virtually nothing.

Canada's first social welfare program was the modest Old Age Pensions Act of 1907, but it was the 1940 Unemployment Insurance Act and especially the 1945 White Paper on Employment and Incomes that set the thrust and tone of government support in this country. That radical document was accepted by the Liberal government of the day (headed by Mackenzie King and underwritten by C. D.

Hewitt) as a way of co-opting the then far-left growing support for the CIO for the social movement that produced the NDP. The Liberal prime ministers after King tentatively followed this model, introducing the social welfare measures in subsequent years that made it workable. It was a way of paying capitalism off some of its harshest critics without forcing voters to vote their salvation on the political left. Lord Keynes, the Cambridge don whose *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* provided the white paper's ideological rationale, may have been their high priest, but pragmatism was their religion. Part of the faith that sustained that belief system was that social welfare payments must not discriminate between the rich and the poor. The end of universality began to accelerate during the Mulroney years as social policy payments to high earners were clawed back through the income tax. But now, with publication of the Axworthy paper, universality is effectively dead. And buried. (So it should be. I know of one Winnipegborn millionaire, who married his son's potential heiress and, when they had a child, he boasted that he may be the only guy in Canada collecting both an old age pension and the baby bonus—when he didn't need either.)

Under Jean Charest, the Liberals are still dedicated to seeking the middle of the political road, but with the NDP and the new surviving Red Tories decimated in last year's election, the main political threat now is from the right and Preston Manning's Reformers. That's why the emphasis throughout Axworthy's paper is on individual responsibility—something very close to a user-fee democracy. (This document, incidentally, is only the first tentative step in the government's social spending review. The next installment will deal with such controversial topics as cutting back on age pensions, 1997 allowances and welfare payments to families.)

The most painful dilemma in designing any national social welfare policy is the inescapable regional disparities. In the Northwest Territories, for example, government payments of all kinds account for 72 per cent of economic activity; percentages that are almost equally high for Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Any significant cut in federal payments would devastate local economies, which in turn would put many more people on welfare.

The Axworthy paper's last features have to do with helping eradicate poverty among the young and redesigning the financing at higher education. From now on, getting an education won't be the most important thing the young will do to survive in tomorrow's economy. It's the only thing.

In the weeks ahead, every specialist interest group in the country will set out to prove that Axworthy's paper will harm its members. And they'll be right. But replicating Axworthy or throwing his carefully crafted document in the garbage won't help.

About the only alternative Canadian has left is to go broke fast or to go broke slowly. Lloyd Axworthy's ideas will help them to do

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SPORTS

The casualties of the sports war

After every Calgary Flames home game, Dusty Wenzel performs a ritual. He puts on long red underwear and a gas belt with a belted 35-revolver. No really cold weather he adds a boxer cap and stands outside his country and western saloon in Elbowville Avenue. There, he waits to turn heads from the Saddledance line hockey away and if some of them are persuaded by his generosity and his group to stop for a brew or two, well, that's fine. But this year, with the National Hockey League season postponed for at least two weeks, Dusty has yet to inspect his long Johns and his gas gun, is facing a business loss of from \$2,000 to \$3,000 on every night the Flames don't play at home and has already had to cut the hours of his six waitresses and three cooks. "This hockey thing," said Dusty, "is real tough on everybody."

Wenzel and his employees belong to a growing legion of people across North America who have depended—many for decades—on professional sports for their livelihood. Last month's cancellation of major-league baseball and the increasingly bleak outlook for the NHL has eliminated or threatened the jobs of thousands of people employed by bars and restaurants, souvenir manufacturers and retailers, hotel vendors, printing and copiers, concessionaires, television and radio stations, hockey arenas and baseball parks, and a host of suppliers and service companies. By week's end, their prospects dimmed even further after the players association rejected two league proposals for a new collective agreement.

The biggest losers of all—especially if hockey follows baseball into oblivion—would likely be the TV and radio networks, which together paid tens of millions for broadcast rights. But a spokesman for The Sports Network, based in Toronto and heavily committed to both baseball and hockey across the country, said "we never talk publicly about money." Other businessmen were similarly evasive, although an industry source charged that the 30-station Hallmark/Vancouver Television sports network would lose "hundreds of thousands of dollars." While Television vice-president Paul Williams would not confirm that assessment, he added "It's depressing and very disturbing but we sell every

on." Williams said no layoffs were planned.

But there have been layoffs elsewhere. Toronto Blue Jays' public relations director Howard Stockman said that while the club so far has not reduced full-time staff, 2,000 part-timers—waiters, ticket sellers and concession workers, many of whom had no other income—have been laid off. And if the owners and players have not resolved their dispute over the league's demand for a salary cap by January, Stockman said, "then there's going to be a lot of downs and gloom."

For other corporations, the gloom is already here. Ted Fletcher, president of Starter Canada Inc. of Montreal, the largest of about 20 companies across Canada licensed to manufacture NHL, NBA, NFL and major league baseball caps, jackets, T-shirts and other apparel, said he has already laid off sales of between 50 and 100 and 95 million. "For us, it's a disaster," Fletcher said. "Every night the Maple Leafs don't play, you're talking about thousands and thousands and thousands of dollars worth of merchandise that can't be sold." Retailers are not buying from Starter, and the company has had to cancel orders with suppliers for fabrics and other materials. And if hockey does not resume within six weeks, Fletcher added, "we are going to have to make serious cutbacks"—a chilling stat. Meanwhile, the Vancouver-based International Gang of Outlets Inc., which owner Ken Taigen describes as the largest sports poster and photo producer in North America, saw sales of \$500,000 vanish when baseball shut down. Taigen said he had no idea what a cancelled hockey season would do, but last year's hockey-related revenue was \$1.5 million. He has not yet had to reduce his staff of 30, but he has no business for commission agents all over North America.

In city after city, there were stories of hardship. In Los Angeles, A&E Services Inc., the Dodger Stadium caterer, said to deliver would cooked food to the ballpark. In Boston, Four Bar on Canal Street across from the Boston Garden had planned to have several people laid off from bars near Fenway Park, home of the Red Sox, but now there is no work because the Sox are not playing. Said manager Fran Manigault: "You feel like you're make-believe job."



Saloon keeper Dusty Wenzel: "This hockey thing is real tough on everybody."

lose?" The Metropolitan Toronto Convention and Visitors Association estimated the city had lost \$38 million from non-sports fans who would have attended the June 22 cancelled home games. The city-owned Toronto Parking Authority lost \$46,000 in revenue from just three SkyDome-area parking lots in Vancouver, the Pacific National Exhibition announced it would lay off 61 employees this week because the NHL's Canucks will not be using the Pacific Coliseum, located on the exhibition grounds. 1991 general manager Jim Knappling and the bar will lose \$100,000, some of it from patrons, for every game not played and, if the dispute goes on for long, additional jobs will be lost.

Even major-league baseball's front office got caught. It paid \$200,000 for issues that two million league championship and World Series tickets that have been returned to an Arkansas printer. But that paid beside the potential losses facing Ticketmaster Canada Inc. of Vancouver, which depends on hockey for 15 per cent of its full-servicing business there and in Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Toronto. Ticketmaster CEO Ben Hume said the firm had already lost \$100,000 worth of sales and, if the season did not materialize, gross revenue could decline by as much as \$5 million. The company has already shaved the hours of performers on the staff of more than 700. "We're a full-service company

and we can weather the storm," Hume said, "but I feel sorry for the little guys."

Hotels have fared better. In Montreal, the Chateau Champlain predicted it could lose only about five per cent of room sales a month during the hockey season. The ITC Sheraton Corp. of Ontario, which operates 268 hotels in the United States and Canada, calculated before baseball shut down that it could experience a 10-to-20-per-cent drop in business if play stopped. The chain, said media relations director Dolores Staehle, launched an "aggressive short-term sales strategy" and what might have been losses in the millions "turned out to be none."

But in Calgary, Dusty Wenzel has cut back on short usage. He has a sign by 11-foot TV screen in his denouement, a seven-league-down screen in the lounge and eight other TV sets, plus two satellite dishes, and he can, when there is hockey, pick up six different games simultaneously. Last week, there was no hockey, and Dusty had killed back on girls' volleyball and country music. "But people don't switch much any more," he added. "They're pretty disgusted, and they're starting to lose interest in hockey." For the players and arena locked in battle that reopens on a larger scale could be the worst news of all.

IAN CORRELL

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PEOPLE MUSIC BY THE NUMBERS

Call her a victim of bureaucratic cruelty. Just as country singer **Lana Brokop** began to enjoy more success with her single *Give Me a Ring*, *Someday*, the song lost its status as Canadian content—and lost its place on the charts. According to rules established by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, two out of four elements (producer, artist, music and lyrics) must be Canadian to qualify as Can-Con and to enjoy favored rotation on the nation's airwaves. Brokop insists that her song, which was produced in Nashville, meets the test. "I'm the artist, and Canadian **Sharon Anderson** wrote all the lyrics," says the 30-year-old, native. But the song lost its Canadian status earlier this month by a more complex equation: because two producers wrote the music, the songwriting credits were split into thirds, making *Give Me a Ring* Someday only 1/3 Canadian. It's a twist, the song at issue immediately dropped from No. 7 on the charts to No. 47 due to lack of airplay. Brokop is contesting the decision, and says she is optimistic that there will be a ruling in her favor—although probably too late to do the song much good. "That we'll get over it and carry on," Brokop adds. "I'm proud to be a Canadian and I'm still one." No matter what the rules say.

Brokop: a Canadian song, but not Can-Con

OPENING LINES

For a first novel, the advance word on *Powey Day* has caught people by surprise—including the author. **Sharon Selvadurai**, who came to Canada in 1984 in the wake of racial tension in her native Sri Lanka, *Powey Day* is a personal and political journey, tracing a young girl's growth to maturity in a society rife with intolerance. "I wrote it for the Sri Lankan people, really," says Toronto-based Selvadurai, 29. "For myself. I needed to know what the events were that had led to my life being changed so radically." But the novel has caught the attention of several influential people. Last week, the jury for the \$55,000 Miller (Penguin) Canadian Fiction post-Powey Day on its shelves. "It's been amazing—wonderful," says Selvadurai. "And a little intimidating, of course."

Selvadurai: "It's been amazing—wonderful"

BOTH FEET FIRMLY ON THE GROUND

Nearly three years after her eight-day excursion into space, Canadian **Robert Boudar** can now relive the trip in a 51-minute feature movie. *Boudar* is one of the stars of *Orbiting the Earth*, a space-tourism now (and like feature-length) shot by astronaut both inside and outside NASA's

orbiting space shuttle. Narrated by **Leonard Nimoy**, the film offers an unprecedented glimpse of the astronaut's world. "It's like being out there, doing a space walk," says Boudar, "although we're sitting here in the theater with a drink and popcorn." Boudar was especially moved by

THE KIDS ARE ALL RIGHT

Fred Penner's musical philosophy is simple: "If you give kids a strong focus—no concessions, straight at them—and involve them in a dialogue, they will connect with you." With his first movie, *What a Day!*, the 39-year-old Penner's *Floor* now in its 18th season and a lively Canadian tour kicking off this week, that for music has served the Winnipeg children's orchestra well. Penner says that he strives for a "sophisticated" level of music that is "palatable to adults as well as kids." A father of four himself, Penner acknowledges that the children's entertainment market is saturated with highly typed

Penner: music that is palatable to adults as well as kids

books, video games, albums—and "there is a lot of crap out there." But books, he adds, can handle it. "They're eclectic," says Penner, 47. "The more educational they have, the better; the stronger, they will grow." In fact, he is more worried about parents these days. "We have to take the responsibility of being with the choices," he says. "We have to be the guides—that's our job."

the opening shot, a thundering aircraft launch. "It brings it all back for me." But Boudar, who has just written a book called *Twisting the Earth*, now has both feet firmly on the ground. While still contributing to space-medicine research, she is also interested in sports medicine and photography. "My life's work right now," Boudar says, "is on the surface of this planet."

Edited by JOE CHIDLEY

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had been negotiated under the Tories.

The push for tougher Canadian ownership requirements springs from at least two sources. Many Canadian publishers would dearly love to tap into such lucrative fields as educational publishing and book clubs, most of which are now controlled by foreigners. They clearly resent the fact that the two dozen foreign-owned publishers operating in Canada, led by the two much larger parent companies, are often able to lure away star authors from Canadian houses.

David Kent, president and publisher at Random House of Canada, the Canadian branch of New York-based Random House, finds these arguments unconvincing. He says that companies such as Random Canada must compete in the same market as Canadian publishers, but without the benefit of government grants. And, he adds, they are accountable for any money they get from their parent company. Kent proudly points to the author partnership award won last year by Random Canada's downtown Toronto office, which includes such prominent Canadians as Mordecai Richler and William Ondaatje. They came to Random from other publishers, he says, not just for the money, but because his company doesn't better job of promoting their work. "Ondaatje is not the only one," says Kent, who has worked for Canadian-owned and British publishers in the past. "It's what these companies actually do and contribute that they should be judged on."

Ironically, though, Western Union chairman Devered recently almost stumbled when asked why Random Canada, rather than his previous publisher, McClelland & Stewart, is being cut out his latest novel, "Marek," in the upcoming reply. Devered he elaborates: "You know, it isn't a little bit like selling out. But on the other hand, writers have to make a living." Devered says that if Canadian publishers were more profitable they could afford to pay American-style advances. But that won't happen, he adds, unless Ottawa provides financial support and incentives for the industry. And without a viable publishing industry, says Devered, "Canadian culture is done the holes even more than it is already."

Writers and publishers may have to wait some time before hearing what Ottawa has in store for them. Dupuy's ministry has authorized a broad review of policy towards the arts. But until it is complete, Dupuy is reluctant to offer anything beyond the government's desire to "protect and develop book publishing." While few publishers question the minister's good intentions, some are skeptical that he can convince his cabinet colleagues to take any drastic steps. "We've got a Liberal government that doesn't believe in the country any more," insists Stoddart, "instead they believe in centralization and globalization. Maybe that's OK in the manufacture of cars. But it doesn't make sense for cultural industries." For Canada's anxious publishers and writers, the proof, as always, will be in the free press.

FRANK THOMAS

Between the B.C. covers

It had been a long and busy day at the year's most important book fair for Karl Seigler, president of Vancouver's Talonbooks. Still, the publisher was relaxed but lively, despite the exhaustion he was putting in at the big international event in Frankfurt, Germany. After several years of underwhelming reception from the world's book buyers, Seigler reports, "Now, I have people asking me what we distribute our books." With the publisher's European distributor finding export markets for 80 per cent of Talonbooks' 200 titles, and a long-winded deal for distribution in New Zealand and Australia just a signature away, he adds, "We can hardly contain our pride."

More than half a dozen B.C. companies (out of a total of 40) made the expensive trek to Frankfurt, an indication of the regional industry's emerging profile

downtown Vancouver outlet of Dutrie Books, one of the country's largest independent booksellers, B.C. titles are prominently featured, books covering everything from poetry to science to personal to broader fiction. "We are terrifically chauvinistic in British Columbia," acknowledges owner Colin Dutrie, whose enterprise expanded last year to six outlets.

The energetic support of independent booksellers is one explanation for the growth of B.C. publishing. Another is a conspicuously literate public. Federal statistics compiled in 1991 showed that B.C. residents typically spend almost six hours a week reading books—well above the national average of 4.4 hours. "It goes back to the kind of people who have come here," suggests White, reflecting more than a little of that provincial chauvinism. "They're more imaginative, more curious, more tactfully curious. They're just into it."

When it comes to the question of provincial support, however, there's no sugar. White, for one, complains that B.C. funding for companies like his "was scandalous." And both those who publish books in the province and those who sell them are let against the dominance of Toronto-based competitors who, they say, often spread poisonous regional rumors. Unlike the situation in Ontario and even neighboring Alberta, educational textbook publishing is virtually nonexistent.

Such criticism, however, cannot mask the evidence of growth. White's Harbour Publishing has seen its annual list grow from 40 titles in 20 to the past decade. Talonbooks' sales in the United States doubled in 1990, and the company expects a similar increase this year. Dutrie, meanwhile, has launched a red-hot new "virtual bookstore" as the worldwide Internet computer network, where shoppers can browse, electronic only through a catalogue of 50,000 extraordinary titles. "It's being accessed from Peru to Finland," boasts the innovative bookseller. "But though the profits may be for some, British Columbians are successfully putting their books before the world."

Yet many B.C. publishers and book stores are benefiting from the demand on the part of both locals and tourists—for homegrown fare. In the flagship



■ Vancouver bookstore publishing is thriving in the province, partly because local books are popular

The province's 21 largest publishers had sales of more than \$20 million last year, up by nearly 40 per cent from 1988. Still, the industry remains only marginally profitable: without government grants of nearly \$2 million, B.C. book publishers would have lost money last year. The average volume published in the province earns a meagre \$4,500 for its author and about the same for its publisher. "Books live," says Alan Tenny, publisher of the quarterly B.C. BookWorld, "are being snatched by the people who make them." And Howard White, president of Harbour Publishing, based in Foster Harbour, north of Vancouver, adds, "We're holding our own. I've finally got out of my 19-year-old Volvo. I'm now driving a [used] Toyota."

Yet many B.C. publishers and book stores are benefiting from the demand on the part of both locals and tourists—for homegrown fare. In the flagship

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BOOKS

Friends in need

Two elderly women share their deepest secrets

CHARLOTTE AND CLAUDIA KEEPING IN TOUCH

By Joan London
(New Power, 260 pages, \$19.95)

For 47 years, Claudia lived with a selfish, ill-humored husband, watching his vodka-soaked first children and enduring an endless string of infidelities. Over the same period, Charlotte, her girlfriend (friend), built a satisfying career as a social worker at a time when working women were still an oddity. For the unmarried, childless Charlotte, romance has been a patchwork affair, with the notable exception of the very much married Andrew, her lover



Barfoot: moments of understanding

for almost a decade. But as each turns her 70th birthday, new ideas, her two women sit down closer together, each fascinated by the road the other has chosen. In *Charlotte and Claudia Keeping in Touch*, Joan London (1983) and four other novels, revisits little-known. As in her earlier works, she displays a passion for charting the complex inner lives of women that society too often pigeonholes

as either repressed housewives or solidified career women or other female stereotypes. Unfortunately, many of Barfoot's insights are obscured by a repetitive, dull style that relies far too much on telling rather than guiding readers to their own conclusions.

At her best, Barfoot is adept at capturing moments of understanding that seem to come out of nowhere but end up changing a life. When Charlotte recalls her decision to send prep Andrew—the loss of her life—she is not sure why. "Nothing had changed, nothing was different. How could she go on?" she finally admitted to herself. But such nuggets are frequently buried in paragraph after paragraph of self-evident statements, riddled with an ambivalence of rhetorical questions and musings that seem to go nowhere. In most cases, the narrative only begins to come easily by when Barfoot allows her characters to break into dialogue. The two main characters give and take with others; they express energy on the novel much like the feeling of relief that Charlotte and Claudia experience when they finally decide to take action.

For the first third of *Barfoot*, Charlotte and Claudia Keeping in Touch is a relief, a sometimes less-than-outstanding addition to her body of work. But for those who have not yet been won over by Barfoot's continuing explanation of the lives of women, the author's talent is unlikely to make those converts.

PATRICIA CARROLL

THEATRE

Forging a soul

Lucy Maud Montgomery endured much anguish

There is a recent optimism in Lucy Maud Montgomery's books that has endeared them to a certain kind of reader for generations. But *Anne of Green Gables* and its successful sequels of lost only an indirect glimpse of their author's life. As her recently published diaries make clear, Montgomery was far less happy and more complex woman than her books imply. Now playwright Don Henken has put the darker Montgomery of the diaries onstage in *The Windows And The Drama*, now in its premiere run in Toronto, is a miracle of condensation. Everything essential is here, sought in a spare yet effective dramatic shorthand. Montgomery's lifelong grief at her mother's early death, her struggles to please her father, her upbringing by overbearing grand parents, her unsatisfactory marriage to a morally unstable Presbyterian minister and all course, her battle to make sense of it all through writing.

The play opens in 1902, the year of Montgomery's death. Maud (Sue Howell, in a powerful performance) is spending a grim evening in her Toronto home, trying to find her mother's husband, Dean Macdonald (Joe Hawkins), in a few words of conversation. Then, her former son, Stuart (John Jarvis), appears that he has signed up to serve overseas. Maud is whirled into an abyss of confusion and grief. Memories overwhelm her.

Montgomery's symbolic presentation allows Maud to step through time without a lot of strapping annotations. His final vision is wonderfully directed by Peter LeFevre, a poet, which occurs on an abstract structure can borrow several structures—a "modern ball." A luminous sky gives a sense of distant, unattainable freedom, a fair metaphor for Montgomery's struggle.

A couple of scenes lag down in sentimentality. But for the most part, director Rob Baker's production is innovative and moving. Howell and Jarvis give a poignant portrayal of Maud and Stuart's final reconciliation, making it clear that although Montgomery triumphed with her books, she accomplished the far more difficult task of forging her own soul in the labyrinth of private life.

JON FERGUSON

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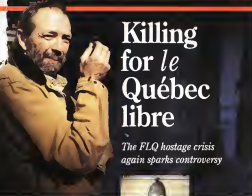
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WEDNESDAYS 9-10PM

SHELLEY KLINCK
TOUCHTONE
WEDNESDAYS 1-2:30pm

AM 640
THE BEAT OF TORONTO

Reiner Schwarz
The VILLAGE VOICE
SUNDAY 6pm-8pm

THE SUNDAY NIGHT SEX SHOW
SUNDAY 8pm-10pm



Killing for le Québec libre

The FLQ hostage crisis again sparks controversy



Scene from *October*: Falardeau (top) sympathy for the assassins

Now that the Quebec independence movement has become the franchise of a premier who believes like a British backlot, it is easy to forget that it was once championed by revolutionaries who financed their cause by robbing banks. Twenty-four years ago that week, Quebec leader Maurice Duplessis was kidnapped by a cell of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ). British Trade Commissioner James Cross, who had been kidnapped by the other FLQ cell five days earlier, was released unharmed three months later. But Laporte was stranded to death by his captors on Oct. 17, one week after his abduction. The story of that week, related from the kidnappers' point of view, is now the subject of a controversial new movie by Quebec director Pierre Falardeau.

October is a compelling, well acted and sometimes harrowing psychological drama. It also raises some disturbing moral questions. Even before filming began, October provoked a storm. Last year, after reading the script, an outraged Senator Philippe Giguère charged that it justified the murder of Laporte and "concocted" his killers. Over the years the allegations, Falardeau himself countered \$1 million to October's \$2.2 million budget, and the National Film Board contributed \$800,000. (Initially, Quebec's own funding agency, SOGEC, declined support.)

Falardeau's acting director, Peter Kazanakis, fully expects to get flak for financing October. "Some people will be very upset," he says. "It was a tough decision. But we tend to ourselves. We're not going to err, we have to err

on the side of creative expression. We're not a censor but we're a cultural agency."

In fact, the completed film is not as incendiary as Giguère had suggested. Directed in a stark documentary style, it portrays the last FLQ members who kidnapped Laporte—François Simard, Paul Rate, Jacques Bess and Bernard Lortie—as neither heroes nor villains. It is, however, cruelly honest towards them. The whole drama hinges on the kidnappers' weird delusion over whether to kill Laporte after the authorities have called their bluff. The decision to carry out

the assassination divides the group. They agonize every step of the way. Simard and Jacques Bess finally go through with it.

Falardeau's identification with his subjects runs deep. He based his script largely on interviews with Simard, whose prison experiences inspired the director's previous movie, *Le Party* (1988). Still respecting the FLQ's code of anonymity, the director does not name the movie's five Quebecois characters (played by Hugh Duce, Devin Druid, Luc Picard and Pierre Lavoie). Those closely familiar with the case also figure out who is who, but in a film so closely based on real events, the anonymity is inevitable.

Although October sidesteps the politics, it does entertain the possibility that the kidnappers had no choice but to kill Laporte. Setting



Scene from *October*: Falardeau (top) sympathy for the assassins

in a Toronto hotel room and work upping. Calverton and John Smiley. Calverton, the 17-year-old Falardeau said: "I'm not sure if they made the right choice—maybe yes, maybe no." And he stands up in conversation with a phone from author Albert Camus, which appears on-screen at the opening of the film. "Necessarily but inevitably."

That Falardeau is even willing to empathize may seem morally offensive. But the director's lack of distance from his characters—and his refusal to condemn them—is exactly what makes *October* work as well as it does. Falardeau forces the viewer to enter the kidnappers' claustrophobic world, to become their hostage. And with an accumulation of grimly authentic detail, the director makes the experience real.

But he could not be accused of romanticizing his subjects. From the first scene, they are portrayed as desperate, unpolished amateurs whose decision to kill Laporte is crude and impulsive. On the evening of Oct. 9, they hear a report on their car radio that the FLQ cell responsible for Cross's kidnapping has given him a reprieve, although the authorities don't mention the possibility that the kidnappers of \$2.2 million. "They're long enough," Bess's character tells in despair. "The

government will never negotiate." Staying in the car, he and his comrades frantically try to think of another target. After rejecting the American consul as too obvious, they hit upon Laporte. In a dark phone booth, using a cigarette lighter to see, they scramble to fast his sweater in the doorway. Then, identifying themselves as party members, they call his house and attempt to drop by the next day.

Falardeau punctuates the drama with a lot of surreal dream rolls. He quotes generously from FLQ manifestos and communications. And there are momentary glimpses of the crisis unfolding in the outside world—news reports of the War Measures Act and of 3,000 FLQ supporters rallying in an arena. But the movie concentrates on the drama that unfolds behind the shattered windows of the suburban bungalow where Laporte (Serge Houde) is held captive. Focusing on the kidnappers' anguish, Falardeau goes out of his way to establish motive. Unlike the anarchists who abducted Cross, Laporte's captors appear to be working-class realists. The 19-year-old Lortie (Lavoie) talks about exact lecture before his arrest. Simon says: "We've got up, we can't take it any more," he says after Laporte asks, "Why do you do this?" In one scene, Lortie admits Laporte's weakness, and cannot believe it when the minister tells him it is worth \$1,000.

Lortie, who refused to take part in the killing, treats Laporte with an almost deferential respect. But none of the kidnappers show much hostility towards their hostage. At one point, they run out of money for food, and Laporte gives them \$50 for an order of takeout chicken. After paying the delivery man, they dutifully hand the minister his change. The kidnappers seem oddly vulnerable. They are disarming housekeepers. The dishes pile up. They eat out of cans. And at times, these former vagrants on the shore. An image of Paul Robeson kidnapping his children with a brick—to discipline himself—would play as ironic. It was not so brutally realistic.

The director, meanwhile, seems entirely protective towards his characters. He shows even showing Laporte's murder as the two kidnappers leave with a rope to strangle him, the camera stays in the kitchen, focused on the dirty dishes piled in the sink, as if to say: "It's a shame, but what can you do?" Falardeau does not show the murder out of "disgust," he says. "I don't know how to say it." But he admits that he also wanted to preserve some sympathy for the kidnappers. "If I wanted to show them as killers with fangs and blood dripping from their mouths, as psychopaths who took great pleasure in strangling Laporte, it would be very easy."

Indeed, Falardeau, whose background is in documentaries, compares his approach to that of Truman Capote's "nonfiction novel," *In Cold Blood*. The director says that he, too, tried to avoid passing judgment—"I just followed the facts." But in the case of the FLQ crisis, the facts are still painfully sensitive. They leave no room for neutrality.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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A woman's place is in Parliament

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

When Audrey McLaughlin first entered the House of Commons, she sat watching the men below at each other in the first session in Quebec (Pewee). After several months of observing the posturing and rituals, she was reminded of her favorite episode of the *Murphy Brown* TV series:

"The men in the newsroom are having a huge fight that's all about their egos," McLaughlin recalled. "Murphy watches them sit there for a while, and finally she bursts out, 'Oh, why don't you all just drop your pants and I'll get a ride!'"

The anecdote is recounted in *The Golden Globe Women and Political Power* by Constance, a new book by Calgary journalist Sylvia Stange. To be published this month, a detailed, strange, isolated (unapologetically lecherous) in Kim Campbell's phrase) life of women used to serve their country in Ottawa.

Seen in retrospect, the numbers (or lack of them) are remarkable. The first female MP, Agnes Macphail, did not sit among all the blue chips from 1921 to 1925 before another woman, Myrtle Black, joined her. For five more years, they could sit next to each other, but there wasn't much chance of co-operation, Macphail being a CCFer and Black a Conservative.

In the four decades from 1925 to 1964, only 17 women were elected to Parliament. And seven of them got there only because they inherited the reigns of their dead husbands.

Stange is good at recording the sheer anger of the women trapped in the boys' club. When she wrote how Compagno asked for an interview, the former Liberal cabinet minister fired back a tirade in response, asking why "a man" would dare write such a book. The author had to explain that she was born as a woman whose name was Sylvia.

Stange is sharp at setting the historical scene. Women in France weren't even allowed to vote, much less they were still considered citizens, until 1944—no recognition of their war effort, after the Han had been expelled. British women finally got the vote in



1928—15 years after it suffragettes threw herself under the horses at the Derby in Epsom Downs and was trampled to death in a national example of appropriate symbolism by the steel owned by King George V. (Women in New Zealand got the vote in 1902.)

The author notes shrewdly that all the symbols of parliamentary government are still drawn from the murky wars of war. The chief of dead in the Commons is the sergeant-at-arms, who carries the mace. His counterpart in the Senate is the confederate prime of the black rod.

Compagno notes that all the paintings on Parliament's corridors are of men and war and wealth and blood. The few female images are British queens, including Victoria, whose statue apparently was first guarded by an imperial lion. "In a state of two-alive-will," she declares to shocked females and curious children. His broadest stroke was saved off in 1908—"the only matronly an-

known to have occurred on Parliament Hill." What is a girl to do? For one thing, on Parliament Hill where hundreds of women walk for MPs, Terry Barbara Greene demanded better lighting after she was physically assaulted in a dark parking lot. Stange says the highly respected Toronto Star columnist Carol Lee was also mugged in the same area.

The new band of women MPs, cutting across party lines, got a task shop carrying things women need—panty hose and sanitary napkins. Within the building community of Parliament Hill, with its regular secret snoop at night, women were given less consideration than they would receive in any rural Canadian town with a drugstore.

She has an interesting theory of one decisive mechanism that lonely, talented women—trapped in a male environment—must in the isolation. Then Judy LaMarsh and Kim Campbell, their own weight, Manager Inigo, slim and attractive when first arriving in the Commons from Quebec, cut losses that she gained 60 in an eight-month stay in the Commons.

She devotes an entire chapter to Bess Mahoney, the classic MCP in youth, being educated by his wife and his female Tory means, naturally doing more than say 150 to advance women in Ottawa. In his first cabinet, when only nine per cent of all MPs were women, 25 per cent of his ministers were female.

She has the perspective detail. Of all the calls received by Barbara McDonough's constituency office during the crucial PTA election, there were more about hair than about the male part. She tells the reality of all the women who have recently hit the top reaches in Canadian politics: they're all been either divorced or single—from Charlotte Whitten to Sheila Copps, Pat Carney (Florence MacDonough, LaMarsh, Bessie, the well-known Judy Ervin and McDonough) and on and on.

She ends on hope. While 66 Tory women candidates lost, meaning that with the NDP two of Canada's major parties had elected a grand total of two females, there was another side. The Greens ran 64 women, 36 of them won. Eight of the 30 blue Quebec women became MPs. Even the Liberals, where the broadest are supposed to serve coffee, elected seven of its 23 female candidates.

The percentage of women in Parliament rose from 13.4 to 18. In less than a decade after Mahoney signalled his approval, female participation has nearly doubled.

In 1997, at the height of intense legislation with Trudeau's death, exactly one woman, NDP's Grace MacLennan, was elected.

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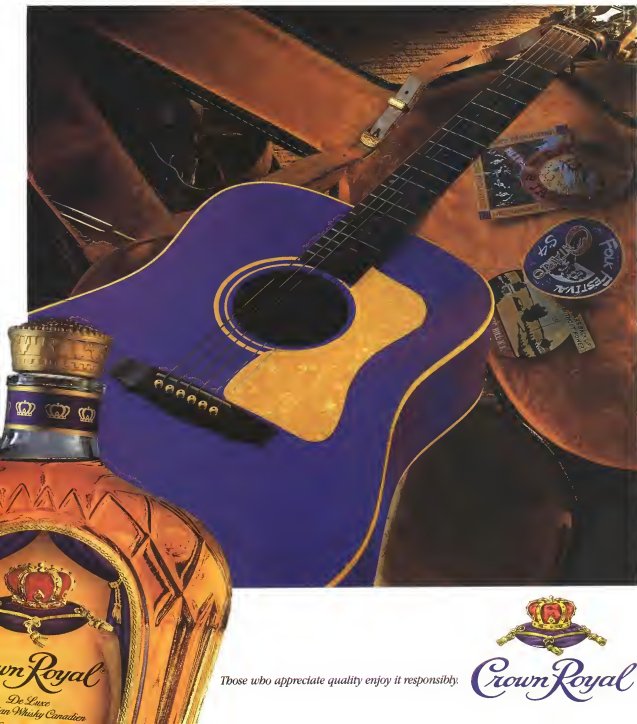


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